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**LEISURE TIME IN THE 1990's AND BEYOND:  
CHERISHED FRIEND OR INCESSANT FOE?**

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**INTRODUCTION**

In his 1989 article, *Time: The Incessant Foe*, Wendel (32) discussed several time-related challenges facing the 1990's. He predicted that time would become an increasingly scarce and precious commodity for Americans. Families and jobs would become increasingly more demanding, thus leaving little true leisure time after demands on daily life are met. Wendel suggested that because more families are comprised of single-parent units, and even traditional double-parent families usually meant that both parents worked outside the home, weekends would be spent performing necessary household chores and satisfying survival needs leaving little time for family play. Two important concerns posed in the article were related to how much time would be left for sports and recreation, and what people would do with it.

After the opulent, some say greedy, 80's, the 90's would usher in a renewal of family values and a shift from the selfish individual to community concerns, but time would be lim-

ited. The caring 90's were expected to focus on sports that catered to more sectors of society, such as youth and women, and people were expected to be ever more health and environment conscious. Specifically, the following predictions were made by Wendel as regards sport, recreation, and leisure time during the final decade of the 20th century:

- People would be caught in the time crunch feeling stressed and burned out, and with a great need to slow down.
- Sport tourism, adventure travel, and ecotourism would increase.
- There would be a significant growth in active outdoor recreation, such as camping, boating, and fishing.
- With leisure time at a premium, younger parents would be looking for sports and recreational activities in which the whole family could participate. Group sports like volleyball, walking, biking, and softball would increase be-

cause two or more family members can participate at the same time. In response to the family component, there would be a shift in health clubs from traditional individual/singles exercise to more family-oriented leisure activities.

- As baby boomers age, medical evidence of the benefits of sports and living an active lifestyle, as well as their personal desires to get out and do more, would increase the popularity of golf and other individualized sports.
- Young people would become a major market for recreation/sports equipment. During the mid-1980's, baby boomers have had an estimated 19 million children who would be 10 to 15 years old in 1999.

While these predictions provide the normative view of what might happen during the 1990's, this article examines the operational aspects, or what actually occurred in the past decade. Wendel's forecasts form the basis of this investigation. However, the focus of this paper is primarily on the recreational and free time, or leisure, components of the set of auguries listed above.

### **THE FRAZZLED 90s**

Popcorn and Marigold (23), popular trend trackers and futurists, argue that the typical American tries to live 99 lives during one lifetime. This, they suggest, is manifest in people's attempts to pack multiple careers, families, hobbies, vacations, duties and commitments into a single lifetime. Undoubtedly, this takes its toll on the human condition—high levels of stress and feelings of being overwhelmed, with little time to get everything done. Time deepening, according to Robinson and Godbey (26), is an individual's

ability to do more with less time. Owing to their tendency toward compulsiveness, people in the 90's "are capable of higher rates of 'doing'. Rather than thinking of human behavior in 'either-or' terms (doing one thing or another) some people develop the ability to do both" (25, p. 39). These types of people are sometimes referred to as time stackers because they do numerous tasks, stacking them one atop the other (7, p. 4). Evidence of time deepening, or time stacking, includes speeding up a given activity, substituting a leisure pursuit for one that can be done more quickly, doing more than one activity simultaneously, and undertaking activities with precise regard to time (10).

If asked about their discretionary time, many Americans would complain that they are busier than ever before (7, p. 4). Few people feel that there is enough time in a day to get everything done, and according to research by Robinson and Godbey (26), many Americans in the early 1990's (nearly 40%) felt always rushed and that their free time was decreasing. Time scarcity, or this American way of feeling rushed, is all too familiar. Robinson and Godbey (25) identify some rather absurd but realistic scenarios that are indicative of time scarcity:

- Playing endless games of communication tag are frequently made worse by call waiting, fax machines and voice mail.
- Birthday parties are often condensed into family restaurant meals.
- Automobile accidents caused by simultaneously driving, talking on the telephone, listening to a taped lecture, and eating lunch out of a fast-food container have become more commonplace.

- For some people, little more than a few seconds are spent in front of a painting at an art museum.
- For some parents, spending 'quality time' with their children simply means doing more with them in less time.

There is a difference, however, between how much free time people think they have and how much they actually have. Although advanced technology and a shorter workweek in recent years promised the American public a glut of leisure, Americans today feel that they have less leisure time than in earlier decades. Sociologist John Robinson and leisure behavior researcher Geoffrey Godbey have been conducting longitudinal studies on this topic since 1965. Their work shows that the public feels as though leisure has decreased. In 1965, 24% of adults surveyed felt always rushed. By 1975, the number had grown to 28% and in 1985 to 35%. In 1992, the percentage of people answering that they always felt rushed reached a high of 38% (25). Despite these feelings of inadequate time, Robinson and Godbey have found that Americans' free time has actually increased substantially. From the data collected from minute-by-minute time diaries, they discovered that Americans have gained nearly an hour more free time per day over the same period. Putnam (24, p. xvi), concludes:

We seriously overestimate how much time we spend on work (both on the job and at home), and we dramatically underestimate how much free time we have at our disposal. We estimate, on average, that we have about 18 hours of free time per week, but our time diaries suggest that we actually have more than twice that amount.

The smallest gains in free time have been among middle-aged, university-educated,

married people—a pattern consistent with the stereotype of the harried two-career, middle-class family.

Unlike the earlier findings, a 1995 survey showed a significant drop of six percentage points in people who say they always feel rushed. The percentage of people reporting moderate to high levels of stress also increased between 1985 and 1993, but decreased by 2% in 1995. Likewise, the percentage of Americans who said they had less free time than five years ago fell from 54% in 1991 to 45% in 1995. While Robinson and Godbey (25, p. 240) do not offer an explanation for this sudden change, they simply speculate that perhaps Americans are beginning to adapt to a faster pace of life.

Schor (27) refutes Robinson and Godbey by arguing that average Americans have added 160 hours of work to their individual yearly schedules, which equals approximately one additional month of work per year. Her claim that Americans are overworked and 'underleisured' is based on the findings that the amount of paid time off has actually decreased, while moonlighting, overtime, and increased workloads owing to corporate downsizing have increased. Additionally, she argues that the typical American spends more time now than ever before doing work around the house as a result of his or her obsessive and increased standards of efficiency and perfectionism.

Although the controversy remains unsolved regarding the quantity of leisure time for the American household it is also important to consider the quality. One recent Gallup survey reported that Americans have lower levels of satisfaction regarding amount of leisure time and household income, although they are generally happy with many other aspects of their lives such as family life, financial net worth, health, and housing (19).

## **SPORT TOURISM, ECOTOURISM, AND ADVENTURE TRAVEL**

Watching television is the favored leisure activity among Americans, a way of life that has been consistent for almost 40 years. According to a Gallup release in March 1999, watching TV was reported by 31% of the population to be the favorite way to spend an evening, eleven percent higher than the next category—spending time with family (20). With all the activities reportedly occurring to keep people so busy, television viewing accounts for approximately 40% of the average American's free time (25). While TV is popular for small blocks of leisure time, people are increasingly using their larger blocks for travel. All forms of travel have increased dramatically in the past 20 years. According to the World Tourism Organization (34), the total number of international tourist trips increased from 459 million in 1990 to 593 million in 1996. On the American scene, the Travel Industry Association of America reported that trips made by US residents increased from 589.4 million in 1990 to 715.9 million in 1997 (30), although this is necessarily a conservative number since domestic trips are difficult to enumerate.

Recent years have seen a shift in the traditional view of vacation from one of strictly lying around bathing in the sun to one of intense activity and personal mobility. Americans, it appears, are becoming more interested in active vacations. According to a recent study (9), two out of three Americans say that their ideal vacations would include more than one specific destination or attraction, while 31% say they would prefer to spend it in just one place. Similarly, two-thirds would prefer to be involved in activities and sightseeing on their vacation, while only one-third would prefer just to rest and relax.

This is evidence of changes in traditional mass tourism towards more specialized forms of activity-oriented and nature-based travel. Sport tourism is a clear example of this trend. The number of people who travel to participate in and watch sporting events is at an all-time high (13). The Tour de France cycle race claims to be the world's largest annual sporting event, attracting several million spectators along its route (5). According to Morais and Groves (14), motor sports are the most popular sport in the United States in terms of attendance numbers, and demand is growing exponentially as new tracks are built and crowd capacity is increased. NASCAR, for example, has developed a significant following during the 1990's to become one of the most sought-after spectator sports in America. The rapid increase in golf resorts in the United States and abroad is also an indicator of the rapidly growing popularity of sport-oriented vacations (16). Interestingly, in a 1995 market research study, when people were asked 'What is your most important vacation objective?', the greatest response (24%) was to indulge in a passion for sports, and when asked which hotel amenity they thought was most important, the response was a swimming pool (12%) and a fitness center (12%) (6, p. 27). In another recent study, the Travel Industries Association of America reported that 38% of the people surveyed who traveled 50 or more miles from home attended a sport event during their trip. Nearly 84% traveled to be a spectator while 16% participated in the event (6, p. 27).

Nonprofessional participation in sport tourism tends to be group specific and is heavily influenced by age, gender, geographical setting, race, social class, ethnicity and religion (29, p. 71). The average sport tourist tends to be physically active, well educated, relatively affluent, and between 18 and 45 years old (6). As these patterns have emerged through the 1990's, specific niche markets have been

identified by marketing researchers. Many travel agencies have begun focusing their efforts on special niches like sport tourism (5), such as one that specializes in services for youth, amateur, and professional sport teams arranging for all their travel and accommodation needs (6).

There has been a great deal of academic debate surrounding the nature and definition of ecotourism and whether or not it is in fact more sustainable than traditional forms of mass tourism. Some argue that ecotourism is merely travel that involves nature as the primary attraction. Others suggest that it must be education-oriented and locally controlled. Still other scholars observe that it is an environmentally friendly activity that ought to contribute to the conservation of the resources upon which it is based. Fennell (8, p. 43) attempts to include all of these perspectives in his definition as follows:

Ecotourism is a sustainable form of natural resource-based tourism that focuses primarily on experiencing and learning about nature, and which is ethically managed to be low-impact, non-consumptive, and locally oriented (control, benefits, and scale). It typically occurs in natural areas, and should contribute to the conservation or preservation of such areas.

Just as sport tourism stems from an increased awareness of the need for physical fitness and the desire for more activity during vacation time, ecotourism is generally considered an outgrowth of an increase in ecological awareness and a conservation ethic that developed in North America during the 1980's and 90's. In common with sport tourists, ecotourists tend to be relatively affluent and well educated, and they have an avid interest in nature, conservation, and foreign cultures.

While it is difficult to measure ecotourism, largely owing to the lack of universal definition and the fact that many non-ecotours have components that occur in natural settings and are education based, it is clear that this form of special-interest travel has grown dramatically during the 1990's. In Tortuguero National Park, Costa Rica, one of the world's premiere ecotourism destinations and one of the most popular among Americans, visitor numbers more than doubled in just two years from 9,207 in 1990 to 19,741 in 1992 (21). Since then, several other nature reserves in the country have become highly popular ecotourism destinations to the extent that visitation to Costa Rica's natural protected areas reached an all-time high of 659,000 in 1996 (31).

Both eco- and sport tourism fall somewhere within the guise of adventure travel. For example, according to the Canadian Tourism Commission adventure travel activities include the following: 1) wildlife viewing; 2) nature observation; 3) water adventure (e.g. canoeing, kayaking); 4) land adventures (e.g. hiking and climbing); 5) winter adventures (e.g. dog sledding, skiing); and 6) air adventures (e.g. hot air ballooning, hang-gliding, bungee jumping, and parachuting) (8, p. 49). Arguably, many of these activities could be considered eco- and sport tourism adventures as well. Christiansen (2) distinguishes between soft adventure and high adventure pursuits. In terms of ecotourism and sport tourism, soft adventure includes everyday activities such as observing a football game, taking a walk, playing golf, birdwatching, or taking a mule ride to the bottom of the Grand Canyon. Adventuresome activities include a river rafting trip and climbing a volcano. High adventure involves activities like South Pole ski touring, shark baiting, and sea kayaking. All three levels of adventure travel have increased dramatically during the 1990's (8),

but the riskiest activities have become most popular among Americans (11).

## **OUTDOOR RECREATION**

In common with adventure travel, outdoor recreation has also increased significantly in the past decade. Visitation levels to national forest recreation areas, for example, increased every year between 1990 and 1995, with only a slight decrease in 1996. Recreational visits to sites in the national parks system stayed relatively consistent throughout the 1990's, although there was an overall increase from 258.7 million visits in 1990 to 265.8 million in 1996 (Table 1).

Americans' increased interest in the outdoors and an improved US economy during the 1990s resulted in a significant growth in water activities, such as boating. In fact, in just over ten years the number of recreational boats owned by Americans grew by over two million, from 13.7 million in 1985 to 15.8 million in 1996 (30). Participation levels in motorboating have also increased substantially in recent years, which is to be expected given the growth in boat purchases. In 1982/83, 33.6 million people over 16 years old participated in this activity, and by 1994/95, the number had increased 40% to include 47 million participants. Between 1982/83 and 1994/95, by far the most notable growth occurred in the following five activities: bird watching (+155.2%), hiking (+93.5%), backpacking (+72.7%), downhill skiing (+58.5%), and primitive area camping (+58.2%) (4). Only a handful of outdoor pursuits experienced decline during the same period—hunting (-12.3%), horseback riding (-10.1%), sailing (-9.4%), and fishing (-3.8%)—but even still their abatement was far from approaching the high levels of growth experienced by other activities.

While not a part of outdoor recreation, the performing arts have also taken off in the 1990s to become one of America's favorite recreational activities and therefore deserve mention here within the context of leisure pursuits. For example, according to the United States Bureau of the Census (30), attendance at symphony orchestra concerts grew from 24.7 million in 1990 to 31.1 million in 1996. Likewise, it is estimated that attendance at Broadway and other professional theatrical performances grew from 23.2 million in 1990 to 26.6 million in 1996.

## **FAMILY SPORT AND RECREATION**

Recreation and health centers do appear to have become more family oriented. Many YMCAs, for example, have changed from being places where young men and single adults can go to associate with one another to places where entire families can spend their common free time. Many such centers now have play areas where small children can play while mother and father swim, lift weights, or play basketball (15). The United Service Organization, Inc. provides a wide range of recreational activities for US military personnel and their families throughout the world. It operates Family and Community Centers in eight foreign countries and 14 states, as well as in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia (7, p. 270). Many American university campuses have also recently begun to expand the functions of their recreation facilities to include participation from more than just students and faculty. Families and community members, usually for a nominal fee, can participate in exercise programs and various other group and individual activities.

According to a National Sporting Goods Association (17) research report comparing sports participation in 1988 to participation in

1998, for Americans seven years of age and older, there were significant increases in the popularity of many group sporting activities, such as walking, bowling, basketball, aerobics, darts, baseball, and soccer (Table 2). While certainly not the only cause of such increases, the need for family-oriented group activities that can be done in a relatively short amount of time, as mentioned earlier, certainly has played a part in this growth. Some group sports experienced decrease in participation between 1988 and 1998, including billiards, softball, volleyball, calisthenics, racquetball, and cross-country skiing (17).

### **GOLF AND OTHER INDIVIDUAL SPORTS**

As mentioned in the introduction, the primary focus of this paper is leisure and recreation so that less attention is being directed at the sport specifics predicted by Wendel (32). However, a brief comment is warranted. Wendel believed that participation in golf would increase as the baby boomer cohort aged and became more aware of the need for physical activity. As expected, golf was a significant growth sport during the 1990's. Participation in 1988 totaled 22.7 million, but in 1998 it was 27.5 million, a growth of over 21% in just ten years. This relatively modest growth rate was exceeded notably by golfer spending on green fees and equipment—from \$7.8 billion in 1986 to \$16.3 billion in 1998, a growth of 109% (16). This clearly suggests that golf enthusiasts are playing more often and buying more equipment in terms of quantity and sophistication. In addition, during the past ten years, new golf course construction has increased from an average of about 150 per year to more than 400 per year. In 1998 alone, 448 new courses were built, and today there are 16,365 courses in the United States (16).

One surprising change during the 90's has been the decline of tennis. Tennis participation has decreased from 18.4 million participants in 1990 to 11.2 million participants in 1998 (16). However, initiatives are being introduced to provide a simpler way for people interested in tennis to try, learn, plan, and compete. The USA Tennis Plan for Growth is a \$50 million project to promote and develop the growth of the sport in the United States and is co-sponsored by the United States Tennis Association, the National Recreation and Park Association, and the International Health, Racquet and Sport Club Association (3). In addition, there is a movement to make tennis more spectator friendly by bringing it to the level of the masses. In 1999, the ATP announced a plan to boost the profile of tennis and to increase excitement among fans and spectators. The organizers of the men's pro recently unveiled their idea of 21st century tennis with a marketing makeover that will make the sport's fans more participatory and louder, its sponsors more global, and its TV exposure greater and more offbeat with rolling and remote-controlled TV cameras (12, p. 3). Other individual sports witnessed a slight decline in participation between 1990 and 1998, such as swimming, cycling, and running, while some, such as cross-country skiing, saw a more dramatic decrease (50 percent) in popularity (Table 2).

### **SPORTS EQUIPMENT**

Personal consumption expenditures for recreation increased from 281 billion in 1990 to 431 billion in 1996 (30). In 1990, \$21.8 billion was spent on athletic clothing and footwear with an increase to \$24.7 billion in 1997 (18). Likewise, in 1990 nearly \$12 billion was spent on athletic and sport equipment and in 1997 the amount was \$18 billion. As predicted by Wendel (32), youth are the primary consumers of sporting goods and clothing. In



1996, 60% of all gym shoes/sneakers were purchased by young people 17 years and younger. The same population cohort purchased 72% of the country's sales in team sports equipment the same year (18).

## THE FUTURE

It is clear from this review that Wendel's (32) forecasts for the 90's were, for the most part, on target. Americans do feel rushed, as they attempt to fit too many activities into their daily routines, although research from the late 1990's reveals that many people are beginning to feel less rushed and that leisure is not as much in short supply as earlier in the decade. Sport tourism, ecotourism and adventure travel are on the rise as members of society begin to realize the need for more active and environmentally-friendly vacations, and as they feel the need to break away from the mundane by taking risks. Outdoor and other recreational pursuits also expanded during the 1990's, with the exception of some activities like hunting, fishing, sailing, and horseback riding, which have experienced notable declines in recent years. Most group sports have become more popular, which, according to some observers, is a result of the need for more family-oriented leisure activities, and some health/recreational facilities have changed from an individual to more of a family focus. On the whole, individualized sport/recreational activities have seen a significant growth, particularly among older Americans. In common with some outdoor activities and group sports, several individual activities experienced a notable decline, however, including cycling, tennis, running, and swimming. Furthermore, sport/recreational activities have become more appealing to more cohorts of society during the 1990's. Young people and women have become major consumers of sports clothing and equipment, and have also become a significant

portion of the market base for watching and participating in sports.

It is likely that many of these trends will continue into the 21st century. Americans appear to be tired of being rushed and not having enough time to unwind and enjoy the simple pleasures of life. In response to the 'frazzled 90s' society will probably adopt the small-is-beautiful, less-is-more philosophy (28). Ackerman (1) explores the concept of deep play in her recent work. She defines deep play as being caught up in the rapture of life—life filled with joy, creativity, and self-fulfillment, a state of optimal creative activity that brings out "our best selves". Ackerman argues that recreation and sport experiences are simply aspects of deep play. Such activities range from the exotic to the domestic, from the artistic and the athletic to the spiritual, and it is the qualities of time, space, and spirit that distinguish deep play from the rest of our lives.

As people become ever more rushed and frustrated with time demands, and as the current rise in societal nostalgia for a more simple past becomes more pervasive, a paradigm shift from consumption/materialism to voluntary simplicity and down-sizing (i.e. deep play) may be imminent. People will thus begin to seek after a higher quality life rather than simply a hurried quantity. True leisure rather than forced leisure will become more commonplace.

In terms of sport and recreation, participation trends will become more generic in nature. What the cross trainer has done for the athletic shoe industry, the sport and leisure industry will do for the less-hurried society of the new decade. There will be greater levels of androgyny in sport and recreation activities, with less of an age variable, and recreation/sport suppliers will increase accessibility

of their products to individuals and families in all their forms.

Much of this increased accessibility, at least in terms of tangible products, will be delivered to the doorstep, furthering the cocooning effect that Popcorn (22) described in her work, which implies a stay-at-home society, wanting the comfort, safety, and convenience of services at the front door. Mail order catalogues and toll-free telephone numbers were an early manifestation of this. Now, with so many American homes possessing computers (35% in 1995) and the continual rise in subscribers to the Internet, shopping at home is becoming even easier and more convenient. This has the potential to create more leisure time, and many people will view Internet shopping itself as a primary form of recreation.

It is possible that advanced technology will continue to change the form of recreation/sport activities favored by American society. It is already possible to plan a complete trip from a home computer, and many people have begun to do this. Traditional travel agencies are now feeling the need to reinvent their role in the tourism system. There is also talk of virtual tours, where people will be able to visit England, Italy or China, right in their own living rooms. Perhaps the time will come when consumers will be able to enjoy a week-long winter vacation in the Caribbean in only one afternoon without ever having to leave their homes. While this would not likely appeal to the masses, some individuals would no doubt find it ap-

pealing, and some would argue that it increases equity and accessibility to more sectors of society.

Eco and adventure tourists are now beginning to infiltrate the last remaining 'frontiers' of the world. Tourism in Antarctica, for example, is booming. Outer space is essentially tourism's 'final frontier'—a condition that may not last long. Several hotel and resort companies have already begun to plan for space travel. Space resorts, according to some analysts, are not as farfetched as people might think. A 1997 NASA study concluded that space tourism represents a potential market worth billions of dollars, once technical and economic barriers are overcome (33). Companies like Hilton and Budget Suites have already started considering such options. One California company wants to use empty space shuttle fuel tanks to build an orbiting hotel. The same company believes that there would be plenty of entertainment in space—guests could take space walks, gaze down at the earth, study space, try their hand at space gardening, and assist in minor maintenance projects (33, p. 10).

The next decade is certain to be one of rapid social, economic, and technological change. Time, rather than an incessant foe, will become a cherished ally. We will learn to balance our frenetic schedules and pace, so that leisure will feature more prominently in daily life. Continued appreciation of the outdoors and healthy living will cultivate an even higher level of adventure, recreation, and sport activity, even if it is in outer space.

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**TABLE 1**

National Forest and National Park Recreation Use, 1985-1996

| YEAR | NTL FOREST<br>RECREATION<br>VISITOR DAYS* (mil-<br>lions) | NTL PARK<br>RECREATION<br>VISITS<br>(millions) |
|------|---|--|
| 1985 | 225.4   | 263.4  |
| 1986 | 226.5   | N/A  |
| 1987 | 238.5   | N/A  |
| 1988 | 242.3   | N/A  |
| 1989 | 252.5   | N/A  |
| 1990 | 263.1   | 258.7  |
| 1991 | 278.9   | 267.8  |
| 1992 | 287.7   | 274.7  |
| 1993 | 295.5   | 273.1  |
| 1994 | 330.4   | 268.6  |
| 1995 | 345.1   | 269.6  |
| 1996 | 341.2   | 265.8  |

\* One visitor day is the use of Ntl. Forest that aggregates 12 visitor hours. This may entail one person for 12 hours, 12 persons for one hour, or any equivalent combination.

Source: (30)

**TABLE 2**

Sport Participation, 1988 and 1998 (in millions)\*

| Activity                  | 1998 | 1988 |
|---------------------------|------|------|
| Exercise Walking          | 77.6 | 62.3 |
| Swimming                  | 58.2 | 71.1 |
| Camping                   | 46.5 | 42.3 |
| Exercising with Equipment | 46.1 | 28.9 |
| Fishing                   | 43.6 | 45.7 |
| Bicycle Riding            | 43.5 | 53.8 |
| Bowling                   | 40.1 | 37.9 |
| Billiards                 | 32.3 | 32.4 |
| Basketball                | 29.4 | 23.1 |
| Golf                      | 27.5 | 22.7 |
| Hiking                    | 27.2 | 19.9 |
| Aerobic Exercising        | 25.8 | 24.2 |
| Running/Jogging           | 22.5 | 22.9 |
| Dart Throwing             | 20.8 | 17.8 |
| Baseball                  | 15.9 | 13.4 |
| Softball                  | 15.6 | 20.6 |
| Volleyball                | 14.8 | 22.0 |
| Backpacking               | 14.6 | 9.1  |
| Soccer                    | 13.2 | 8.7  |
| Calisthenics              | 11.8 | 13.6 |
| Tennis                    | 11.2 | 17.3 |
| Racquetball               | 4.0  | 9.3  |
| Cross-Country Skiing      | 2.6  | 5.8  |
| Ice Hockey                | 2.1  | 1.8  |

\* Americans seven years of age and older who participated more than once

Source: (17)